The Chianti Five: Using a "Swinging London" Template and the Evanescent Career of the Tigers to Explore the Female-Driven Reshaping of Tokyo-Based Popular Culture, 1966-70

Abstract

In the mid-1960s, five Japanese women and a revolving group of male musicians, artists and counterculture figures would come together at an upscale Italian restaurant-salon in Roppongi called "Chianti". Together they would combine the drive and energy of middle-class aspirational teenagers with the refined creativity of a new post-war Tokyo cultural elite, to produce a Tokyo version of the so-called "Swinging London" phenomenon of the same period. The exploration presented here uses as a reference the main socio-cultural components of the UK's movement to explore the extent to which the Tokyo version had a comparable long-term impact on the development of Japan's music and fashion-based popular culture.

Keywords: Roppongi, Swinging London, The Tigers, Group Sounds, 1960s Tokyo

1960 年代半ば、5 人の日本人女性と、ミュージシャン、アーティスト、カウンターカルチャーの有名人など、変わりゆく同好の男性たちが、六本木の高級イタリアン・レストラン・サロン「キャンティ」に集まった。彼女たちは、中流階級のティーンエイジャーの意欲とエネルギーと、戦後の新しい東京の文化エリートの洗練された創造性を融合させた。これによって彼らは、同時代のいわゆる「スウィンギング・ロンドン」現象の東京版を生み出すことができたのである。本稿では、英国のムーブメントの主要な社会文化的要素を参考にしながら、東京版「スウィンギング・ロンドン」が日本の音楽とファッションに基づくポピュラーカルチャーの発展にどの程度匹敵する長期的な影響を与えたかを探る。

キーワード 六本木、スウィンギング・ロンドン、ザ・タイガース、グループ・サウンズ、1960 年代東京

Introduction

On April 18, 1963, Paul McCartney of the Beatles met seventeen-year-old Jane Asher, the daughter of an upper-middle-class couple with ties to the UK cultural elite (Miles 1998: 102). This meeting and the subsequent relationships between the couple and those who frequented the Ashers' six-level home at 57 Wimple Street, where the two future pop icons lived for three years, would provide much of the creative fuel that powered so-called "Swinging London." The latter, a cultural movement documented by scholars Levy (2002) and Sandbrook (2006) as well as documentary filmmaker David Batty (*My Generation*, 2018), would make London the acknowledged center of a worldwide youth-based cultural revolution. This transformation was built around a fortuitous coming together of northern working-class and London-based middle- and upper-class personalities from the worlds of music, fashion, film, art, photography, hairstyling, ad graphic design. The movement would spread to Paris, New York, and Los Angeles in 1965-66, and would in turn be embraced by an enthusiastic group of pop cultural innovators and artists in Tokyo in the four years after the Beatles' visit and concert performance in Tokyo in July, 1966. This article focuses on the way in which five Japanese women from mostly elite backgrounds (hereafter the "Chianti Five") adapted and transformed this movement to the Tokyo context through their mutual friendship, artistic expression, and connections with other cultural innovators associated with Japan's most popular pop group, the Tigers. While perhaps not always

conscious of their ambition, the actions of these five women embodied a desire to use their personal experiences of, and exposure to, European art and fashion to help forge a new popular culture. While never clearly articulated, these individuals sought to fuse together the sophistication of 1950s Paris and the hip modernity of 1960s London to engender a commercial success capable of authenticating and validating their unconventional lifestyles and celebrity status.

The activities and cultural undertakings of the Chianti Five took place largely as a result of their mutual connection with an Italian restaurant and salon (Chianti) in the fashionable Nishi Azabu area of Tokyo, and it is this cultural space that will be used to explore the ways in which the reinvention of Japanese pop culture unfolded in the second half of the 1960s. The research presented here will be used to argue that just as a small group of artistically minded individuals living in London in the early 1960s would, through their desire to transcend class boundaries, collectively reinvent British popular culture, so the Chianti Five, in conjunction with a coterie of primarily male musicians, actors, and artists, would achieve something that, given the cultural distance between the two societies, was remarkably similar. These Japanese individuals would, like their London-based peers, combine the drive and energy of middle-class aspirational teenagers with the refined creativity of a new post-war elite, to produce what could in retrospect be called "Swinging Tokyo." While not a purely comparative study, the exploration presented here will reference, at some length, the main components of the social and cultural forces that created Swinging London and highlight some of the talented individuals who shaped it. This will then be used as a tool of analysis for mid-1960s Tokyo, with a goal of exploring the extent to which the Japanese movement had a comparable impact on mainstream domestic popular culture and can be considered part of the "global simultaneity of youth mass trends" identified by Michal Daliot-Bul (2014: 1).

In part because the Chianti Five are not well known outside Japan, this article uses a biographical-narrative approach to explore their individual activities and motivations and assess the impact of their collective friendship or sisterhood on the key pop culture events of 1966-70. By examining their backgrounds and mutual interaction, an assessment of these highly Europeanized individuals' roles in shaping this popular culture movement and reacting to the challenges presented by the concurrent counterculture, can be undertaken. To facilitate this, a chart with their names and cultural role is presented alongside the Swinging London figures with whom they can most reasonably be compared. While there is no suggestion that the Japanese individuals were a direct equivalent, evidence is presented below to suggest that a comparison with these counterparts not only has some objective validity but can provide useful insights into the global nature of the 1960s counterculture's reach and impact.

London				**Tokyo**		
Name	G	Profession/Activity		Name	G	Profession/Activity
Brian Epstein	M	Manager of the Beatles		***Watanabe Misa***	F	Manager of Nabepro
Anita Pallenberg	F	Actress/Fashion icon		***Kaga Mariko***	F	Actress/Fashion Icon
John Stephen	M	Fashion Designer		***Koshino Junko***	F	Fashion Designer
Marianne Faithfull	F	Pop Singer/Style Icon		***Yasui Kazumi***	F	Lyricist /Style Icon

Jane Asher	F	Actress/Broadcaster		***Kawazoe Kajiko***	F	Salon Owner/Designer
Paul McCartney	M	Musician/Songwriter		Sawada Kenji	M	Musician /Singer
John Lennon	M	Musician/Songwriter		Kahashi Katsumi	M	Musician/Singer
Brian Jones	M	Singer/Fashion Leader		Kamayatsu Hiroshi	M	Singer/Fashion Leader
George Martin	M	Producer of Beatles		Sugiyama Koichi	M	Producer /Composer

Chart Comparing Nine Key Figures of Swinging London and Tokyo by Gender and Profession (Chianti Five Members in bold italics)

Identifying the Socio-Cultural Components and Individuals Behind "Swinging London"

While scholars of "Swinging London" may emphasize different factors leading to its formation, few would disagree that the years 1964-67 saw one of the broadest and deepest social and cultural transformations in the city's long history. Unlike earlier such movements, however, this one was triggered not only by far-sighted cultural innovators from aristocratic or elite backgrounds, but by this cohort's deliberate cultivation of key individuals from lower-middle-class backgrounds. A list of four socio-cultural components or conditions that allowed this interaction and symbiosis to develop so rapidly and powerfully in the early 1960s is provided below for reference when making comparisons with the Tokyo equivalent.

1. The capacity of a small number of aspirational middle- and upper-middle-class individuals, most notably Brian Epstein (1934-1967) and Andrew Loog Oldham (1944-) (managers of the Beatles and Rolling Stones); George Martin (producer of the Beatles) (1926-2016); David Bailey (1938-), Terence Donovan (1936-1996) and Brian Duffy (1933-2010) (fashion photographers); Marianne Faithfull (1946-), Terence Stamp (1938), Julie Christie (1940-), Anita Pallenberg (1942-2017) and Jean Shrimpton (1942-) (movie and style icons) to break through as role models for talented cultural innovators seeking to use the mass media as a vehicle for challenging the UK's caste-like class barriers.

2. The enthusiasm and interest of a handful of fashion designers for both men and women, most notably John Stephen (1934-2004) and Mary Quant (1930-2023), to combine America's new ready-to-wear clothing culture with a French-Italian boutique aesthetic. This fashion expression bypassed haute couture, thus allowing the increasingly affluent middle-class youth who were frequenting London's new cultural spaces, to reinvent their physical personas through unique but affordable clothing creations.

3. The interest of a select group of aristocratic or upper-middle-class individuals to use their homes or other spaces as a vehicle for connecting the key figures involved in expanding the boundaries of the music and fashion-based subculture that would emerge as Swinging London. These included the physician-music teacher couple, Richard Asher (1912-1969) and Margaret Asher (1914-2011), the parents of Paul McCartney's girlfriend, Jane Asher (1943-); the counterculture pioneers Barry Miles (1943-) and John Dunbar (1943-), proprietors of the Indica Gallery and Bookshop (where John Lennon would meet Yoko Ono), as well as the flamboyant art dealer Robert Fraser (1937-1986).

4. The affinity and familiarity of segments of the British working- and lower-middle -class youth (sometimes gained while attending art school) with African American musical

> styles, and their subsequent ability to reinvent and reshape these into a potent vehicle for fashioning a new identity that reflected their frustrations with the limitations imposed by the class system.

As this article will attempt to show, the first three of these factors and social groupings would be present to a surprisingly high degree in Tokyo in the second half of the 1960s. In combination, they would profoundly reshape Japanese popular culture in ways that have not hitherto been fully explored or understood by western popular culture scholars, in part because of the latter's emphasis on marginalized rather than on mainstream cultural movements. The relative absence of the fourth element, however, would result in the development of a pop-culture expression that would ultimately prove to be less robust and durable than the one fashioned in London. Indeed, this missing element from the London "template" would ultimately impair the ability of the Japanese pop culture elite to sustain and nurture the kind of cultural innovation and creativity that they helped to bring into existence in the Japanese capital in the late 1960s.

The Making of Swinging London, 1961-1966

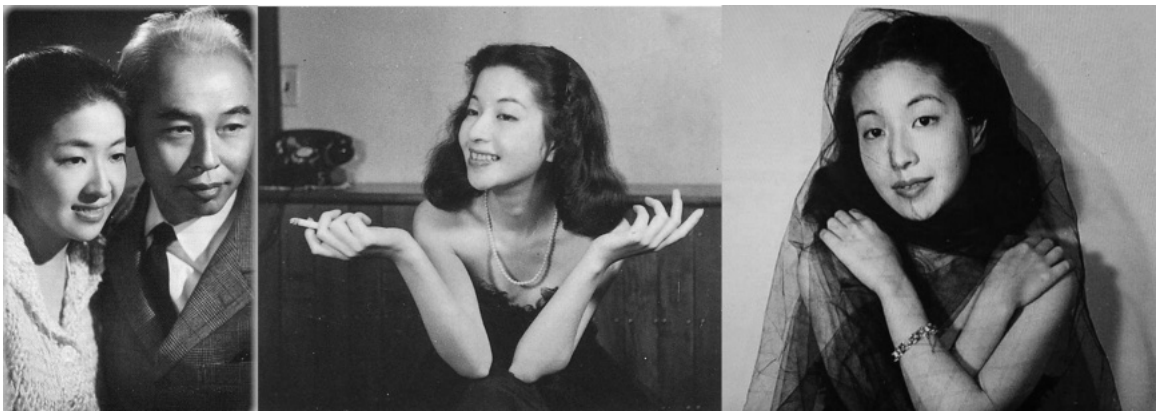
Among the difficulties involved in exploring the Chianti Five and their cultural orbit is the absence of any definitive multi-disciplinary study of the popular culture scene in mid-1960s Tokyo in either Japanese or English. This contrasts with several studies of Swinging London, of which Shawn Levy's *Ready Steady Go! The Smashing Rise and Giddy Fall of Swinging London* is the one most useful for the comparative aspects of this study of the explosion of creativity in art, music and fashion that reshaped Japan. Levy's history commences, not with the Beatles or any popular music-related individuals but rather with the early pioneers in the fields of fashion, style, and photography. Their desire for self-expression and willingness to cultivate talent from others in the lower and working-class, would lead them to open or make use of a small number of important social spaces in central and west London. It would be in these clothing boutiques, hair salons, cafes, and private homes that a new subculture could be incubated and developed, ready to be fused with the music-based movement that would explode in 1963-4.

After introducing the fashion and style pioneers of the late 1950s and early 1960s, among them "the snapper, David Bailey…the Draper, Mary Quant…the Dreamer, Terence Stamp… [and] the Blue Blood Robert Fraser," (2002: 9-10), Levy's book goes on to identify and explore the careers of a group of slightly younger individuals, many of whom had a close connection with popular music. In many cases, it would be the fortuitous interactions of these older and younger trendsetters, at a time of incipient social and political liberalization, that would allow for the development of what soon exploded into a mass cultural phenomenon. The activities of these younger creatives, including musicians Paul McCartney (1943-), John Lennon (1940-1980), Mick Jagger (1943-), Brian Jones (1942-1969) and Marianne Faithfull, as well as their interactions with some from the cohort immediately before them, including their managers and producers, would ultimately determine the contours of Swinging London. In the same way, the interactions of the Chianti Five with the corresponding music and fashion pioneers of Tokyo, would permit the city to join a handful of western capitals as a world center of popular culture.

A good case can be made that the most important individuals in the UK pop cultural context were Paul McCartney and the three individuals, other than his Beatles bandmates, who most directly shaped his world in the two years before Swinging London's emergence on a world scale. These were the business minded, but also culturally sophisticated and pragmatic gay

Jewish manager of the group, Brian Epstein , the young actress Jane Asher and the record producer George Martin, who engineered and shaped the Beatles' albums from 1963. It would be Epstein whose protective but hands-off management style made possible the Beatles' development of their own individual talents and broadly appealing group persona, while Asher, through her family, provided the bridge for the group's intellectually curious and thoughtful singer to make vital connections with a number of key counter-culture figures (Gould 2007: 313-15; Carlin 2009: 111-13). Finally, George Martin, another upper-class figure, would encourage and develop McCartney's growing interest in the reinvention of pop music writing and recording represented by the Beach Boys album "Pet Sounds" and Bob Dylan's "Blonde on Blonde," both released in mid-1966 (Lewis 2014; Womack 2018). Martin's nurturing of McCartney and co-writer John Lennon's musicality as well as his willingness to accept their eccentricities in the studio would play a major role in the development of a more complex sound, one that would provide the Beatles access to a more educated fanbase (Gilmore 2016). This in turn would allow them to bring many elements of the counterculture to a truly mass worldwide audience. As will be seen below, members of the Chianti Five and those around them would be at least partially aware of what was happening in London. They would, however, be constrained by a tendency to underestimate or even look down on the cultural and artistic aspirations of those Japanese who not only came from the state school-educated lower-middle-class but were from outside the capital city. In addition, the sophisticated Paris and Rome experience and orientation of the key affluent Chianti figures added to their tendency to focus on fashion and visual image before musical expression or innovation. This would lead them to largely disregard the actual popular music emanating from the UK itself, with its overtly African American rhythms and sensibility that, particularly in the case of the Rolling Stones, contained sexually provocative or oppositional lyrics that indirectly challenged social class barriers.

Kawazoe Kajiko and the Roppongi Origins of Swinging Tokyo, 1961-66



Kawazoe Kajiko (and Kawazoe Hiroshi) Mid-1960s

Levy's approach to uncovering the origins of the mid-1960s pop-culture revolution in central London is, as suggested, one that can readily be applied to the cultural scene that developed in the Roppongi area of Tokyo during the same era. This scene would have its center in and around Chianti, founded in 1960 by Kawazoe Hiroshi (1913-1970), the illegitimate son of a Japanese aristocrat. The role of this highly educated connoisseur of the arts, born twenty years before most of the other individuals examined here, is one that is not well known outside Japan. As will be

seen later, it bears some similarity to the one played by Richard Asher and his wife Margaret Asher, the parents of Paul McCartney's girlfriend Jane Asher, whose home would be a vital retreat and cultural space for the Beatles' two main songwriters in mid-1960s London (Gooden n.d; Gould: 313-14).

Although best known for his liaison work with GHQ, his close friendship with photographer Robert Capa and for bringing kabuki to the USA in 1954, it was Kawazoe Hiroshi's love of European sophistication—the product of spending several years in Montparnasse, Paris in the mid-1930s—that would lead him to open Japan's first Italian restaurant in 1960. By this time, he had divorced and married with his second wife, thirty-two-year-old Kajiko, nicknamed "Tantan," an Italian slang word for "aunt." Like her new husband, Kajiko (1928-74), the daughter of a wealthy Hyogo businessman, had been one of a very small number of Japanese who had studied or lived in Europe in the early 1950s. A self- taught sculptor, fluent in English, she used her inheritance money to study in Rome under Emilio Greco and entered into what was then an extremely rare intercultural marriage with a younger Italian man. The abusive marriage soon failed, however, and in 1956 she chose to return to Japan and marry Kawazoe, sixteen years her senior, whom she had met when he was in Italy with a kabuki troupe. When the two of them connected in 1959, both having recently divorced, they represented a unique coming together of two highly Europeanized middle-aged French-speaking Japanese, who in combination, were determined to recreate the best of European culture in their small pocket of Tokyo (Noji 1997: 64-82; Tetsu no Kocho Blog 2018; Murai 2020).

The manner in which the Kawazoe couple were able to fashion what would become a three-story retreat for many of the up-and-coming creative talents who emerged in early to mid-1960s Tokyo, can be understood by looking at their two innovative approaches to the use of Chianti and its space and location. The first was to offer high-class Italian food, which Kajiko had learned to cook as a housewife in Rome. At a time when only a handful of mostly hotel restaurants offered a menu beyond meat sauce spaghetti, Kawazoe offered a variety of Italian and French dishes. The second was to make an additional floor of the building into something akin to a European salon along the lines of Montmartre's La Coupole. Here the couple provided a comfortable location for the mostly elite intellectuals and artists whom Hiroshi had befriended and helped in the previous decade, while at the same time giving these cultural figures access to the new mostly upper-middle-class aspiring artists that his wife would soon gather around her (Noji 1997: 106-109; Shirīzu Tōkyō 2014).

Endowed with an array of artistic abilities and a refined beauty that became legendary among her associates, Kajiko's most important characteristic in making Chianti into a cultural space was undoubtedly her hospitality and ability to attract the love and attention of both men and women. Indeed, it can be reasonably argued that no other woman in early-to mid-1960s Japan exhibited more glamor, grace, style, and sophistication than the restaurant's magnetic proprietress. Speaking four languages and always impeccably dressed, the accomplished dress designer, a personal friend of Yves Saint Laurent, would play a role comparable to that of Margaret Asher in London (Ishimaru 2017). Asher, who between 1963-66 allowed her large townhouse in central London to be used as a shelter for her daughter's boyfriend Paul McCartney and his mostly middle- or working-class musician friends, would play a pivotal role in introducing the latter to the cultured world of the educated upper-middle-class and help facilitate connections across the strict class lines of early 1960s Britain. Kajiko would play a similar role, arguably going beyond Asher through her own personal relationships with some of the younger men who would come into her orbit.

Although the Chianti restaurant would not take on its critical pop culture role until 1966, the seeds of its unique social place in post-war history were laid in the first few years of the decade. This was in part because of its location in Roppongi, an area that had for over a decade benefited from lax nighttime closing regulations, themselves a byproduct of the area's immediate post-war status as a home to many occupation soldiers, especially officers. While Ginza regained its position as the center of post-war nightlife, Roppongi, a suburb with no train station and lacking basic street lighting (even after the opening of Tokyo Tower in 1958), attracted many jazz musicians. These talented young players made a precarious living performing for well-off American officers, or after the occupation, for those elite Japanese with the personal cars needed to access its dark streets (Yoshimi 2003: 439-40; Marx 2011). Beginning in the early 1960s, the area also began to attract the new TV studios, especially Fuji TV and TBS. For a variety of mostly economic reasons, a significant number of the initial programs on these stations were musical variety shows, often featuring the station's own big band and a rotating group of young new singers usually under the musical direction of composer Sugiyama Koichi (1931-2021). In most cases these budding starlets had been recruited by either Sugiyama himself or scouts for the influential Watanabe Productions (Nabepro), a vertically integrated talent agency and production company, run as a tight hierarchy by Watanabe Susumu (1927-1987), a well-known big band leader and his wife Misa (1928-), a musical impresario with a national reputation as the founder of the so-called Western Carnival rockbilly music festival (Furmanovsky 2008: 49-50; Mitsui 2014: 143; Kagawa 2023). In 1961, a number of these performers, together with some affluent local teenagers, began to meet on an informal basis at a local café, Delica Leo's, in the Iikura area, and adopted the nickname *Roppongi yajukai* (Roppongi Beasts Association) for the thirty or so regulars. While the group had no leader, sixteen-year-old aspiring singer Tanabe Yasuo, the son of an NHK announcer, was among the most active, and within a few months he found himself scouted by the Nabepro organization whose *The Hit Parade* show on Fuji Television was constantly on the lookout for potential new stars. Other members of the group included future rock musicians Inoue Jun (1947-) and Kamayatsu Hiroshi (1939-2017); legendary race car driver Fukuzawa Yukio (1943-1969) and A-List actors Minegishi Toru (1943-2017), Ohara Reiko (1946-2009) and Ogawa Tomoko (1949-) (Noji 1997: 106, 159; Tama Musubi Radio 2014; Kagawa 2023).

Many of these ambitious and mostly upper-middle-class teenagers would, after spending a few hours at Delica Leo's, find their way to Chianti, and the restaurant soon gained a reputation for being the only one open until the early hours. Despite possessing little more than pocket money, the attractive youngsters were welcomed by Kajiko. Taking on the roles of surrogate mother and mentor, she took pleasure in making seemingly unlikely connections across age and background (Kamayatsu Hiroshi n.d). While it would be some years before Chianti would start to attract the domestic and overseas cultural and artistic intelligentsia that would make its reputation, the years 1964-66 saw Kajiko enter into friendships with a group of women who both individually and together would play a major role in changing the trajectory of Japanese popular culture. One of these was an occasional *Roppongi yajukai* member, Kaga Mariko (1943-) an actress who would come to epitomize the synergy that could result from a coming together of dynamic aspirational youth and adults, unencumbered by Japanese age- and status-related customs and rules. Little known outside Japan, her ahead-of-its time persona has long deserved greater exploration and attention.

Kaga Mariko and the Fashioning of the 1960s Tokyo "It Girl"

Kaga Mariko (movie and promotional images), 1964-70

Although Kajiko's fashion ideas were developed around two years after Mary Quant's emergence as the premier innovator in youthful London fashion, they were on the cutting edge of fashion in mid-1960s Japan and would become highly influential (Kawazoe 1968: 143-47). Among those most attracted to her casual chic was Kaga, an emerging movie star and fashion icon. Born into a prominent family that included politicians and an Olympic swimmer, Kaga benefited from having a liberal-minded movie producer father (Kaga Shiro) and was highly precocious as a child, frequenting both second-hand bookstores and hair salons. As a teenager she took style cues from Audrey Hepburn's late-1950s movies and by age sixteen, had developed a strikingly stylish and coquettish look that matched her petite frame. Around 1959-60, she became acquainted with the Kawazoe's rebellious stepson Mitsuo (from Hiroshi's former marriage) and, finding a kindred spirit in the stylish stepmother of her friend, began to spend time at Kajiko's home (Noji 1997:143-47; Kikuchi 2014). Scouted by Fuji TV talent hunters in 1960, the fashionable teenager made her debut in a minor drama *–I Know Tokyo Tower–*in 1960 (Kikuchi: 2014). In the same year, she was scouted on the street by Shimoda Masahiro and Terayama Shūji, two former Waseda University student radicals. These two talented artists had recently broken into the movie business and recruited Kaga to play the role of a waitress who falls in love with a rockabilly singer in a working-class Shochiku drama, *The Tears, the Lion of the Vertical Hair*, set among the machinations of a longshoreman's union (Tea for One Blog 2013). While not a major success, Kaga's palpable on-screen combination of innocence and sexuality was enough to lead to an offer to appear in what would be her acting breakthrough, *Getsuyobi no Yuka* (Monday Yuka).

An extraordinarily ahead-of-its-time cultural vehicle, *Getsuyobi no Yuka* (1964), a French New Wave-influenced Nikkatsu vehicle, featured Kaga in the central role of a highly sexualized 18-year-old ingénue who frequents nightclubs and is willing to accept the role of the mistress to a business client of her father's to help him close a deal. While the movie has no official costume designer credit, it is clear that great attention was paid to the main character's fashion, and almost every scene features the most up-to-date European-styled dresses, scarves, shoes, and accessories. Also striking are the bobbed and other hairstyles sported by the starlet, as well as her false eyelashes and "devilish" eye makeup—elements of styles that borrowed liberally from Jeanne Moreau and Bridget Bardot (Abiki Blog 2014). It seems highly likely, given her friendship with Kajiko, that these styles were in fact ones that the now much-in-demand actress had self-selected, possibly with advice from her fashion mentor. Unhappy with the press's sensationalist stereotyping of her as a party girl, the independent-minded twenty-year-old considered leaving the movie business and in 1964 took a lengthy trip to Paris. Asked by Kawazoe Hiroshi to help with his promotion of the movie *Suna no Onna* (Woman of the Dunes) (1964) at the Cannes

Festival, Kaga had a chance to meet and talk with Françoise Sagan, François Truffaut, Christian Dior and Yves Saint Laurent, and to spend time observing Paris's fashion scene (Kaga 2008: 85-96; Noji 1997: 161).

As a result of these and other experiences, Kaga, dubbed the Japanese Brigitte Bardot, returned to Japan in with an even more up-to-date fashion sense, a strong interest in France's sophisticated new popular culture expressions as well as a renewed interest in serious acting. In the following three years, her connection with Kajiko and her new friends from the world of music, fashion and design would deepen, and the rising starlet would reach a status akin to that of Swinging London movie and style icons Jean Shrimpton, Anita Pallenberg and Julie Christie. Indeed, the latter's role as an aspiring model and man magnet in 1965's *Darling* can be seen as paralleling Kaga's in *Getsuyobi no Yuka*. The twenty-one-year-old actress' glamorous and slightly risqué persona in the movie would also attract the interest of the highbrow literary figures and Chianti patrons Kawabata Yasunori and Abe Kobo, and Kaga would appear in a number of stylish movies based on their novels later in the decade (Kaga 2008: 147-52). Despite these associations, it would be her relationships not only with Kajiko, but with other women and men, forged within the Chianti orbit, most notably Yasui Kazumi (1939-1994), that would propel her to become the Japanese actress who perhaps best embodied the sexually empowered, free-spirited persona of the late-1960s independent Japanese woman.

Sometime in the early 1960s Kajiko decided to open a small clothing boutique that would embody her refined and Europeanized sense of fashion. Using the modish moniker, "Baby Doll," the boutique was situated on the first floor of her three-story home and carried a range of imported brand bags and accessories including Gucci and Hermes, both largely unknown at the time. Acting too as the sole agent for Yves Saint Laurent, it would soon attract celebrities such as the actresses Fubuki Koshiji and Kuga Yoshiko (Isomae 2013: 55-56; Muraoka 2022). Unimpressed, presumably, by the ready-to-wear fashions available even in exclusive Ginza department stores, Kajiko's goal seems to have been aesthetic rather than profit-directed and it was the Chianti proprietress herself who often wore the French-inspired designs that she created in her boutique. Indeed, it was her ability to create everyday elegance or what today would be termed casual chic by, for example, wearing a T-shirt as a dress, that would attract the attention of two of the other three Chianti women, Yasui Kazumi (1939-), Koshino Junko (1938-) with whom her life would soon become deeply intertwined (Kaga n.d; Shirīzu Tōkyō 2014). These cultural soulmates would go on to collectively help reshape Japanese youth fashion and popular culture in the late 1960s, using, as their primary vehicle the Tigers, a pop group modeled on a combination of the Beatles and American idol group the Monkees and managed and controlled by the oldest member of the Chianti Five, Watanabe Misa.

Watanabe Misa and the Shaping and Commercialization of Japanese Teen-Based Pop Culture

By the time of the Beatles' short visit to Japan in July 1966, Watanabe Misa, inarguably the single most powerful figure in the Japanese music industry and the impresario behind many of the best-selling pop music artists of the previous decade through her Nabepro agency, had become concerned at the potential threat that British rock bands represented to her pop empire. As early as 1965, with well-attended concert tours by the Ventures and the Animals, it was becoming clear to the more perceptive members of the Japanese popular music industry, that their business could not remain unaffected by the major transformation taking place in the UK and US music establishments. Among the changes that were most obvious were the increasing

involvement of members of the most successful British and American groups not only in songwriting and performance, but in the shaping and projection of their on-stage persona and overall artistic identity. Indeed groups such as the Beatles, Rolling Stones, Bee Gees, Yardbirds and Beach Boys were routinely writing and choosing their own material, and were at least consulted by their mostly young managers on how to target their media image to the new youth-driven subcultures that had exploded in London, Liverpool, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities. Of these groups, it was the Beatles who benefited most from the astute, business-minded management that Brian Epstein had provided them. An additional advantage was the fact that Epstein, whose closeted gay identity led him to take a low profile, focused almost entirely on promotion and image creation and did not interfere artistically. This approach was also true of his younger counterpart, Andrew Loog Oldham, manager of the Rolling Stones who actively encouraged the group to write their own songs and focused his activity largely on building the band's image as the "bad boys" alternative to the Beatles (Hamilton 2018).

In contrast to the management approach of the Liverpool, Manchester, and London-based groups, Watanabe, already a decade or more older than most of the artists she managed, had run Nabepro with her jazz musician husband in a highly controlled micro-managed manner since 1959, personally finding and grooming artists. Indeed, in the case of her most successful act, the Peanuts, this preparation and coaching took place in her own house and extended to every aspect of their public image and performance. By the time of the so-called "British invasion" of the US in mid-1964, she and her hierarchically organized talent agency/production company had already had five years of almost continuous success with a light western pop-*kayōkyoku* hybrid masterminded by her trusted producer Sugiyama Koichi, the University of Tokyo-graduated composer and arranger of many of the Peanuts' most successful songs (Furmanovsky 2012: 56-57; Isomae 2013: 59-60, 87). Considerable commercial success and a lucrative connection with Fuji Television had been consolidated and carefully maintained by a reliable team of highly professional musical insiders, management staff, and TV executives, most of whom were in their early thirties and had graduated from elite universities in Tokyo. These highly skilled professionals generally treated the mostly female young artists under their wing, such as Ito Yukari, Sono Mari, and Nakao Mie, as virtual blank slates. Indeed, musical materials, movie or TV appearances, as well as costumes and performance style were fashioned by the teams assigned to them by Watanabe. In many cases these teams would include composer lyricist Hashimoto Jun, the son of a well-known children's book writer whose unorthodox but skillful approach to lyric writing would be critical to the early success of the Tigers (Isomae 2013: 94). With such a formidable and proven talent pool, almost all from well-off families, and Watanabe's top-down approach to working with the young artists, her approach to managing the agency's first Group Sounds (hereafter GS) act, the Tigers, was, in retrospect entirely predictable. It would also prove to be an approach guaranteed to stifle the future development of any artist, particularly young ones from a non-elite or non-jazz background, who were looking to develop their own musical and artistic expression.

Taming the Tigers: Nabepro's Reinvention of the Aspiring Rock Band as Mass Culture Pop, 1966-67

Formed by a group of late-teenage boys from a lower-middle-class background in Kyoto in late 1965, the Tigers (originally Sally and the Playboys) were, like most other bands, an instrumental act playing Ventures and other instrumental covers. Motivated by the recent success of the

Spiders, one of just a handful of rock-oriented vocal combos in Japan, the group added a flamboyant seventeen-year-old high school student, Sawada Kenji (1948-) on vocals in January 1966 and reinvented themselves as the Funnies, a British pop and rock cover band. By February 1966, the group could boast a fan club of around three hundred members and had attained coveted house band status at a popular south Osaka Jazz coffee shop or *kissa* called Nanba Ichiban. Here their youthful garage band image and energetic cover versions of songs by the Animals and Rolling Stones attracted the interest of visiting headline act Uchida Yuya during the twenty-five-year-old rockabilly singer's engagement for a multiple night gig at the club. Uchida had made a name for himself in the early 1960s with the Ventures-like Blue Jeans and was working under a Nabepro contract. On his return to Tokyo, he urged his manager to quickly sign up the group, who had made some connections with members of rival act the Spiders, and bring them to Tokyo as his future backup band. Excited by the offer, the teenage band agreed to a contract that would bring them to Setagaya in Tokyo in late 1966 for strict training and recording under Nabepro staff supervision (Isomae 2013: 35-41; Rockya Blog 2016).

Once in Tokyo, the group would play numerous concerts at the well-known Shinjuku ACB Jazz *kissa* and the Nabepro-run Western Carnival (held at the Nichigeki Theater), often with Uchida. The positive response to these performances may have been the trigger for Watanabe's decision to adopt the Funnies as Nabepro's answer to the GS vocal group boom typified by the talented but somewhat bland Blue Comets and the actor-musician solo artist, Kayama Yuzo. The latter had launched his career in 1963 as a Ventures-style electric guitarist with a smooth voice and considerable cross-generational appeal. In December 1965, he had stunned the music industry with his GS-influenced but essentially *kayōkyoku*-based pop ballad "Kimi to Itsudemo." What was remarkable was that the song, which became the top-selling song of the year, shipping an extraordinary three million copies, featured lyrics by veteran old-school lyricist Iwatani Tokiko. This suggested that the ostensibly imported new music could in fact be successfully co-opted and lucratively rebranded by the established *kayōkyoku* pop industry without any major concessions to the independent rock-oriented artistic aspirations of the younger generation. With the GS boom now greatly energized by the Beatles' visit and Kayama's albums also selling well, the potential to drive record sales with a direct appeal to a demographic based largely on teenage girls was increasingly obvious to those working in and around the music industry .

Ever the businesswoman and realist, Watanabe's possible reservations about the commercial viability of this new movement would have been answered a few months later when both the Blue Comets and the Spiders' scored major hits in mid-1966 with Japanese-lyric songs "Aoi no Hitomi" (Blue Eyes) and "Yūhi ga naiteiru" (Sad Sunset), both written in a modern *kayōkyoku* style by professional songwriters and arrangers. With her astute understanding of the behavior and ideals of the Japanese teenager, honed over a full decade as a creator of idols, Watanabe understood that with the photogenic looks of Sawada Kenji as the focus, the exuberant and boyish personalities of the genuinely talented Tigers could be marketed in a manner not unlike that of the American idol pop group the Monkees. The latter's extraordinary success as a TV sitcom- assembled pop band had begun to rival that of the Beatles in the final two months of 1966 and would now become something of a template for Nabepro's careful targeting of the huge baby boom mid-teen female demographic (Furmanovsky 2010: 57-61).

To facilitate this transformation, Watanabe pushed aside the much older rock-oriented Uchida Yuya and placed the Funnies under the supervision of Sugiyama Koichi. The latter's first move, made without consultation with the group, was to re-rename the Funnies, "The Tigers" (after the Hanshin Tigers baseball team) and propose that each of them adopt a nickname (Isoemae 2013: 59). From this point onwards, the five members would be known in all teen-oriented media outlets

as Julie (Sawada Kenji), Pea (Minoru Hitomi) (1946-), Sally (Kishibe Osami) (1947-), Toppo (Kahashi Katsumi) (1948-) and Taro (Morimoto Taro) (1946-). Despite his low evaluation of the groups' overall talent, Sugiyama was convinced that he could take advantage of the group's pleasing vocal blend to create a combination of rockabilly rhythm, Beatles-style pop melodies, and sweet choral harmonies that could change Japanese popular song in a significant way (Isomae 2013: 95-96). This artistic goal was complemented by the largely commercial ambitions of Watanabe. While she did not articulate it directly, it seems clear that she saw the group as a vehicle for attaining a hitherto unimaginably large fandom built on a mid-teen demographic. This would be done by deploying a multi-pronged approach to the popularization of the group, centered around the creation of distinct Beatles-like personas for each of the five members. These individual images or characters would then be unveiled and marketed to teenage girls in a planned and calibrated manner through magazines, television appearances, record sleeves and ultimately too, lightweight, but entertaining movie vehicles modeled on the Beatles' *A Hard Day's Night* and *Help* (Isomae 2013: 88-94).

The multi-dimensional reinvention of the five raw but talented Funnies into a boy band that fused aspects of earlier manufactured "idols," but also included some elements of the emerging London-New York-San Francisco-Los Angeles-based counterculture, was of course largely the preserve of Watanabe Misa. From early 1967, however, the Nabepro manager would shrewdly engage the creative participation of the Chianti groups' core female members, especially Kawazoe, Yasui and Koshino, to help realize much of what the lower-middle-class art-school-educated musicians, fashion designers, photographers, and their upper-middle-class media managers and sponsors, had achieved in London just a year or two earlier, albeit with some crucial differences. This effort would begin with a series of releases and performances including "Seaside Bound, "a simple Okinawan-inspired ode to summer featuring what would become the band's signature jump-dance (Nakamura 2019). The song and dance echoed the Monkees TV show theme song, with its zany dance sequence and would become a major part of the band's concert repertoire, attracting enthusiastic attention from high school girls. Selling over 500,000 copies, the hit was shrewdly followed in August by the sentimental and highly successful string-laden ballad "Mona Liza's Smile" performed live at the Western Carnival on August 26, with the group decked out in medieval suits designed by Kajiko. By December 13, when they performed it again to an overflowing screaming teenage girl audience at Sankei Hall, the group was on the way to becoming the country's leading pop group and the only GS act with a significant following outside the big cities (Rockya Blog 2016; Go 2019).

By the end of 1967, much like the Beatles two years earlier, the Tigers were dealing with a seemingly endless set of interviews and magazine photo shoots as well as live performances at jazz cafes and a commercial campaign for Meiji chocolate. While Sawada and the others grudgingly accepted or embraced this state of affairs, the increasingly hippie-oriented Kahashi did not hesitate to express his frustrations with the commercialism and strict control of the Nabepro organization, not only to the management but also privately to thirty-nine-year-old Kajiko with whom he had become close. Indeed, much as Paul McCartney had found refuge and an introduction to art and intellectual ideas in the luxurious West End home of Jane Asher in 1964-65, so did the Tigers guitarist, who in July moved to his own apartment near the restaurant, increasingly spending time at Chianti mixing with intellectuals and counter-culture figures while also enjoying the affection and cultural education given to him by Kajiko (Isoemae 2013:100, 118-21). This of course would add an additional element to the complex business and personal (or possibly romantic) relationships that existed in various permutations between Sawada, Watanabe, Kahashi, and Kajiko.

Despite the success of their first few singles in the first half of 1967, Misa was convinced that only appearances on mainstream TV, including NHK, could break the Tigers nationally and put them ahead of their two main rivals, the Spiders and Tempters. For this to happen, she concluded, the group would have to overcome the mass media's image of them (and GS bands in general) as unkempt long-haired teenagers, precisely as the Monkees had done exactly one year earlier on their September 1966 TV debut. At the same time, as a group taking its cues from British and American pop bands, the group obviously could not jettison their hairstyles and adopt the still widely prevalent *aibi* (Ivy)" or preppy look favored by mainstream elite university students (Narumi; 2010: 419). With her long experience of grooming ordinary teenage girls and turning them into either elegant or girl-next-door idols, Watanabe would come up with a shrewd plan to combine the up-to-date western-influenced credibility that long hair offered, with a groomed presentable look. Sometime in late 1967, she arranged for the group members to visit Taburo (Tableau), a fashionable French-style women's salon recommended by Uchida Yuya, where they would have their hair cut and styled by stylist Yasuda Tomoko (Isomae 2013: 57; Trans-World '60's Punk Blog n.d). Using her media connections, Watanabe arranged for the salon visit to be covered in depth by the influential girls' teenage magazine *Myōjō,* thus helping advance the group's androgynous or pretty-boy appeal at a time when even fashionable Japanese young men would not consider going to a women's hairdresser.

The evolving popularity and societal respectability enjoyed by the Tigers in the first half of 1967 can readily be compared to that experienced by the Beatles, largely due to the efforts of Brian Epstein. Three years before the Tigers, Epstein had, as indicated earlier, remade the Beatles' media persona by putting them into styled mod suits and encouraging them to develop their own toned-down but authentic style on stage and in front of the mass media. In the words of George Martin, this had given the members the "style, taste, and charm," that would allow them to cultivate an image as unregulated but genuine representatives of their social class and generation (McCombs 2017). While Watanabe, by contrast, had little interest in encouraging the Tigers, other than Sawada, to make the most of their real personalities or Kansai background, the Nabepro leader possessed an ability and willingness to recognize and promote young talent, especially when it came from an educated and sophisticated background. This was especially true for female talent as will be seen with the careers of Yasui Kazumi and Koshino Junko. Indeed, it was these women who would allow the Tigers to be the vehicle for introducing a range of pop cultural innovations, some infused with attractive elements of the counterculture, that no male figure in the almost entirely male-run Japanese music industry could have conceived.

Yasui Kazumi: Preternatural Mid-1960s Counterculture Style Icon

Yasui Kazumi-Mid-1960s

Born in 1939, Yasui Kazumi was the studious and precocious daughter of an affluent Yokohama engineer who attended the elite Protestant Ferris High School and studied French, violin and ballet. While a student at Bunka Gakuin and Ochanomizu universities in the late 1950s, the music and painting aficionado, who looked to France and Italy for her fashion and lifestyle cues, would often buy classical piano sheet music at the newly established Shinko Music, Japan's first independently run music publishing company, founded by a young Waseda University graduate, Kusano Shōichi. Impressed by Yasui's obvious love of music and unusually high proficiency in both English and French, Kusano offered the talented young woman a chance to translate English and French song lyrics for potential use by young new artists in the Nabepro roster. Her first serious effort would be Elvis Presley's "GI Blues," a song that became a hit for rockabilly star Sakamoto Kyū and the Paradise Kings in 1961 and demonstrated her remarkable talent for maintaining the English syllabic construction of the song in Japanese. This would be followed by equally adept translations of "Hey Hey Paula" and a number of Paul Anka songs, all recorded by Nabepro idols. Yasui's real breakthrough, however, would come following her first meeting with Watanabe Misa at Chianti. In 1964, Watanabe would ask the twenty-five-year-old to write the lyrics for pop idol Nakao Mie's next song. The request fit perfectly with Yasui's artistic inclinations and belief that a song's lyrics could be the equivalent of the paint on a canvas. The result would be "Onnanoko damon," (I'm a Girl), the success of which led the lyricist to be hired as a regular writer for Nabepro and to begin working with some of Japan's greatest composers. A year later, the unlikely pairing of "Zuzu," as she would be called by her Chianti friends, and veteran composer Taku Izumi, would co-write a song "Oshaberi na Shinju" (Talkative Pearl) for another Nabepro female idol, Ito Yukari. This simple but elegant elegy would go on to win her the 1965 Japan Records Award for the best lyric of the year. A year later, her translation of the folk song "Donna Donna" would be adopted by NHK's hugely popular singalong variety show, *Minna no Uta*, ultimately finding its way into elementary school music books and leading to comparisons with aforementioned Iwatani Tokiko, the country's most successful female songwriter of the post-war years and another Nabepro associate (Shimazaki 2013: 88-90, 102-110; TBS Radio 2013).

Yasui's success, as well as her friendship with both Kaga and Kajiko, would bring the fashion conscious, free-spirited lyricist into the Chianti orbit. It would also help pay for her often-extravagant spending, including a Lotus Elan sports car and Yves Saint Laurent fashions recommended or given to her by Kajiko (Noji 1997: 153-54; Ishimaru 2017). In combination these would make her into a style leader, akin to her own heroine Françoise Sagan, the French playwright and chronicler of teenage angst and sexuality. Once inside this rarefied cultural circle, the sister-like bonding with the other members of the Chianti Five, but especially Kajiko, seems

to have been immediate, perhaps not surprising given their shared artistic sensibility and affinity for all things fashionable and European. Indeed, the three women, despite their age differences, shared a love of European, and especially French and Italian styles, that would, in later years, come to define them outside their immediate circle. It would also lead to yet another crucial encounter, that between Watanabe and Yasui's upcoming fashion designer friend, Koshino Junko. With Watanabe looking for new ways to promote the Tigers through performance costumes that might boost the groups' appeal to teenage girls, the chance to hire a creative talent like Koshino was one that she did not hesitate to take (Shimazaki 2013: 56-57, 97, 114, 120).

Koshino Junko and the Introduction of Boutique Fashion to Pop Culture

Koshino Junko 1968-1972

Already in her mid-twenties when she first met Kasui and Watanabe, Koshino Junko (1939-) was the middle of three sisters born to a well-known Osaka dressmaking family headed by Ozano Ayako. Both of her sisters, Hiroko and Michiko, would also go on to major careers in the fashion business, and Koshino consciously sought to differentiate her work from theirs in the years following her enrollment in Tokyo's Bunka Fukuso Gakuin, Japan's leading dressmaking and design university, in 1958. The young new student's background and innate creativity, encouraged perhaps by Pierre Cardin's highly publicized visits to the university in 1958, inspired her work, and in 1959, at age 19, she become the youngest ever winner of the institution's prestigious *Soen* Prize. During her four years of study, Koshino absorbed the university's strong Paris orientation and focus on luxury and haute couture. Graduating in 1961 in a class that included future designers Takada Kenzo (*Kenzo*) and Matsuda Mitsuhiro (*Nicole*), Koshino's ambition would be fueled by fierce competition with her accomplished sisters and peers, a family story that would later be fictionalized for millions of Japanese through the NHK morning drama "Carnation" (Koshino 2019; Sao no Nekobyori 2014).

Despite her many advantages, Koshino struggled in the early 1960s to make a name for herself, running a small shop in Ginza's Komatsu Department Store. Unable to make much impression in a conservative environment, the young designer would spend hours working on her designs while sitting in her favorite Shinjuku coffee shop. Here, with her distinctive bobbed hairstyle modeled on Man Ray's muse "Kiki de Montparnasse" as her calling card, she would make a number of connections with the new crop of budding young avant garde illustrators, artists and photographers who began to frequent the increasingly trendy student hangout (Kobayashi 2017). Among those who entered her orbit at this time were the photographer Shinoyama Kishin and artist Uno Akira, the founder of the Tokyo Illustrators Club (Kondo 2014). These two modern art pioneers would later take on a status somewhat similar to that of David Hockney and Terence Stamp in Swinging London.

In October 1964, Koshino took what was effectively a fashion pilgrimage to Paris in which she was able to visit most of the leading fashion houses. Inspired by her experiences, she returned to Tokyo with a determination to save enough money to open her own shop, one that would sell limited but non-couture designs. Although this would take several more years, her choice of venue (fashionable Aoyama) and the timing of the shop's opening—shortly before the visit of the Beatles in 1966—could hardly have been more fortuitous. The logo for the shop (Collette*)*, arguably the first dedicated boutique in Japan, would be designed by the soon-to-be notorious graphic designer Kaneko Kuniyoshi, and the attractively decorated outlet would also benefit from being just minutes away from Ishizu Kensuke's already iconic Ivy League men's fashion store VAN (Tajima 2018).

In late 1965, while vacationing in the town of Chigasaki, Kanagawa, Koshino met nineteen-year-old *kayōkyoku* singer Fuse Akira and mentioned that she had a boutique. A fashion-conscious teenager himself, Fuse later visited the shop and asked for an original costume to wear when he performed his newest release. Koshino's daring response was to fashion him a type of unisex dress-like jacket with an embroidered red rose. Newly signed to Nabepro, the design was noticed by the style-conscious Watanabe who immediately asked about the designer. This exchange would lead, within a matter of months, to Watanabe's now historic decision to hand the twenty-seven-year-old boutique owner a commission to help design costumes for the Tigers and other acts in the Nabepro roster (Ichigoichi Blog 2019). This in turn initiated a fortuitous set of meetings that would not only boost the careers of Koshino and the Tigers, but reshape and strengthen the link between pop music and fashion, especially unisex styles, that would become ubiquitous two decades later. It also added an additional element and personality to the influential cultural melting pot that Chianti was on its way to becoming in 1967.

While seemingly having little in common with the boutique owner except a strong interest in fashion and style trends, Watanabe's decision to hand most of the costuming of the Tigers to Koshino Junko in mid-1967 was yet another example of her ability to make effective use of the most talented and artistic baby boomers of the era. In the next three years, the groundbreaking designer would combine her background as a student of French female fashion with ideas from two new sources of men's sartorial innovation. The first of these was the pioneering fashions of the so-called "King of Carnaby Street," John Stephen, a closeted gay man and owner of fifteen London boutiques. Catering at first mostly to the bohemian and gay community, he would gain fame and wealth by selling Pierre Cardin-influenced collarless suits and double button shirts to an increasingly hip clientele that by the mid-1960s included the leading mod bands of the era: the Who, the Kinks and the Small Faces (Art & Hue Blog 2017). This in turn would lead to the so-called "peacock" fashion style embodied by the Rolling Stones guitarist and style icon Brian Jones, who became celebrated in early 1966 for parading around London in crushed velvet striped suits, frilly collared Victorian shirts, brocade waistcoats, multi-colored suede boots, as well as scarves and jewelry. The updated "dandy" style would be delivered to the media through his relationship with his girlfriend, the German-Italian model Anita Pallenberg, and together the golden couple would bring to Swinging London a "revolutionary androgynous look…mixing and matching not only fabrics and patterns, but cultures and even centuries" (A Dandy in Aspic Blog 2011). The second influence on Koshino, though not one officially acknowledged in her writings, would be Gene Ashman, a relatively unknown designer charged with clothing the Monkees on their weekly TV show. The four members' eclectic adoption of Ashman's somewhat cartoonish version of hippie clothing in their TV and stage performances would bring a colorful feminized male fashion aesthetic to millions of American and British teenagers over a period of two years. It also provided a useful template with which to re-invent the Tigers as a Beatles-Monkees hybrid

that arguably went beyond both groups in terms of its visual aesthetic (Ashman 1967). The new approach to masculinity epitomized by the designs of these two men would now be filtered through Koshino's own unique artistic sensibilities to produce not only many of the Tigers' costumes but a significant number of those worn by other GS acts. As will be seen, Kawazoe, Kahashi and others in the Chianti orbit would assist the Collette owner, allowing her to maximize her creativity at the most opportune time.

Costuming the Tigers: Koshino Junko and the Invention of the Cosplaying Idol Singer

The Monkees-red shirts/blue pants, 1967

The Tigers-red shirts/yellow pants, 1967

The Monkees-white slacks/black shirts, 1967

The Tigers-white ski pants/velvet tops, 1967

A look at the Chianti-inspired ensembles worn by the Tigers during their first year shows a clear parallel, albeit with a one- to two-year time gap, of the mod-to-dandy hippie trajectory embodied by Brian Jones and the Monkees members. This can be seen by tracing the development of their album covers and concert outfits during these years. The record sleeve for "My Mary," which would have been shot in late 1966, featured the group in a Pierre Cardin Cylinder Line-inspired beige mod suit that was made by a men's tailor in Osaka using prize money won by the Funnies in May 1966 (Rockya Blog 2016). This style, selected by Kahashi, was in fact already two years old at the time, having become the default style of all British groups since the Brian Epstein-managed Beatles had unveiled it in 1964. It had also been adopted by the Spiders on the cover of their early 1966 debut "Furi Furi," thus predating the Tigers by six months. With the Spiders and

other GS bands projecting a rock-oriented image aimed an older and more male demographic, Watanabe turned to Kawazoe's expertise to come up with an outfit that would match the title of the group's "Mona Liza Smile" (Rockya Blog 2016; Etosetora n.d). The result was the now legendary medieval prince costumes, a colorful sartorial leap beyond anything in the UK or U.S at the time. While this highly theatrical approach to costume design would not be repeated, it set the stage for the Tigers to be seen by their low- to mid-teen female teenage audience as a type of visual entertainment infused with a romantic but asexual fantasy element, perhaps not unlike the appeal of the female dance troupe Takarazuka's *otokoyaku* (male lead). This fantasy look was rapidly followed by Kajiko's most iconic design, a combination of white ski pants, black velvet military-style jacket, and ring necklace that would make its debut at the group's Western Carnival appearance in August 1967 and again prove highly attractive to the group's female fans (Isomae 2013: 114-115; Nakamura 2019).

While Kajiko's designs boosted the Tigers' status with the younger female demographic, it would also contribute to the group being perceived by older teenagers, especially male, as lacking a sense of independent masculinity or maturity, especially in comparison with other GS bands, such Kamayatsu's Spiders. In early 1968, with advice from Kajiko, Kamayatsu set up his own mini brand of Carnaby Street-influenced male fashions under the name "Mush." While not commercially successful, this move into the fashion business and his own flamboyant clothing choices would make him the GS star who best embodied the new European psychedelic fashion for men in their early to mid-twenties. It would also make for a clear contrast with the Tigers, and lead Koshino, Kamayatsu's close friend, to look for ways to update the groups' overall fashion persona (Kamayatsu 2002: 118-19). Building on Kajiko's iconic white ski pants and black velvet jacket, the increasingly well-known designer would now draw on her Paris-centric sartorial training and gender-bending design philosophy to come up with several original outfits. Many of them featured French pantaloons that would reach iconic status and are still widely associated with the group (Sao no Nekobyori 2014; Rockya Blog 2016).

Despite her Parisian bias, the stimulus for Koshino's explosion of creativity in mid-1968 owed much to her visits to London's Carnaby Street in 1966-67. Borrowing aspects of the exaggerated military-style outfits worn by the Beatles on their Sgt. Pepper album, she would move further in the direction of the peacock style and make repeated use of white suits including one with multiple gold chains that would also become permanently associated with the Tigers (Tajima 2018). Contracted to design for several other GS acts, her ahead-of-its-time unisex approach clearly helped open the door to new and more fluid types of masculinity, arguably smoothing the way for the androgynous *visual kei* of more recent years. At the same time, however, her designs for the Tigers would act to project a manufactured persona for the group at a time when more edgier GS acts such as the Mops were sporting non-matching, ostensibly self-selected psychedelic fashions that were perceived by college-age music fans as being more authentic. Perhaps ironically too, the updated idol image represented by Koshino's designs for the Tigers had by 1969, become removed from the persona that she had begun to create for herself via her forays into the bohemian alcohol- and disco party-fueled scene that was well under way in Roppongi, in tandem with elements of the counterculture. In 1969-70, Koshino would dive deeply into this world along with several of her Chianti friends, leaving the wearers of her costumes, especially the Tigers' increasingly estranged hippie-oriented member Kahashi, keen to break free of Nabepro and its constricting commercially oriented world.

Yasui-Kaga-Koshino: Embodying Swinging Tokyo Through Women's Upscale Hippie Lifestyle and Sisterhood

Yasui Kazumi with Koshino Junko and Kamayatsu Hiroshi. ca. 1970-72

The coming together of the teen-age music fandom and commercialism, represented by the Tigers, with the counter-culture world of young students and artists in Shinjuku in 1969 was both short-lived and full of incongruities. It can nevertheless be seen as an important moment in Japan's cultural history. The contradictions embedded in their brief coming together are carefully delineated by Oguma Eiji who, in his discussion of the rift between "youth engaged with counterculture and the militant student movement," argues that "for Japanese student activists… rock was often thought of as overly commercial or hedonistic." Indeed, most activists "avoided cultural activities as petit bourgeois." He further points out that it was only towards the end of the protest movement that "long hair became increasingly popular and rock concerts were held behind the barricades" (2015: 11). While Oguma's description of the tension between two loosely defined groups, namely student activists and hippie counterculture youth, is a useful one, an argument can be made that the era in fact saw a three-way split. As is suggested here, the third and perhaps most enduring component of the Swinging Tokyo scene of 1969-71 was one epitomized by the lifestyles and expressions of the three younger members of the Chianti Five, Yasui, Kaga and Koshino. It would also be one that echoed a similar development in London where working- and lower-middle-class figures such Terence Stamp, Brian Jones and Mick Jagger went out of their way to spend time drinking, dancing, and collaborating with upper-class and aristocratic figures such as art dealer Robert Fraser and boutique owner Michael Rainey (1941-2017), as well as buying old houses and expensive cars (Sandbrook 2006: 270-71). These three Londoners would at various times be closely associated with their mid-1960s girlfriends, model-actresses Jean Shrimpton and Anita Pallenberg and singer-actress Marianne Faithfull. While less well known than the others today, it would be Pallenberg, the multilingual, sophisticated "Sixth Rolling Stone," who in the words of Faithfull, "almost single-handedly engineered a cultural revolution in London by bringing together the Stones and the jeunesse dorée." Through her relationships with both Jones and Keith Richards, Pallenberg would reshape the career and lifestyle possibilities for lower- and middle-class women, especially those who aspired to work in the performing arts or fashion (Sturgis 2017).

While they would not necessarily have known much about the individual lives of these three media icons of Swinging London, Pallenberg's ever-changing fashions and hairstyles would certainly have been known to Yasui, Kaga, and Koshino through magazines, music, and movies. Clearly, they embodied the way in which the three Chianti women chose to live their lives in the

years after the popular and counterculture met and colluded in 1968-70. This lifestyle would be built around the same kind of regime as their London equivalents and usually included a meal at Chianti or Koshino's apartment, followed by a visit to *Mug*en and *Bybios*, the new European-style discotheques that sprang up in Roppongi in 1968 (Motohashi 2010: 133-37). Wearing their own elegant hippie-chic outfits for the dress code members-only *Bybios*, the three women had a relaxed and modern platonic relationship with their two closest male friends Kamayatsu and Murai Kunihiko (1945-), a school friend of Kawazoe's younger son Shoro and a man later instrumental in the creation of what would later be called "City Pop." A typical evening for these five hipsters would include drinking and dancing until the early morning hours, often followed by a meal cooked by Koshino at her Roppongi apartment; a hedonistic lifestyle made easier by the fact that Kaga and Yasui (who had married and recently divorced a Taiwanese businessman), were neighbors in the same celebrity-filled Kawaguchi apartment complex (FacesandNemes Blog 2019; TBS Radio 2013). Increasingly in the latter half of 1969, their lives would mirror the elite member-club parties of their London counterparts as indeed did their frequent get-togethers at the Roppongi apartment of the Queen of Psychedelia, as Koshino was now dubbed in the media (NHK Taiga Drama 2012).

Despite this party-filled lifestyle, the three women, especially Yasui, maintained a rigorous work schedule during these two years. By 1969, the prolific songwriter had emerged as Nabepro's default lyricist, replacing veteran Iwatani Tokiko as the most successful female lyricist in Japan and achieving financial security by writing all of the lyrics for Sawada Kenji's debut album "JULIE." She would go on to work with many of the leading post-GS music artists, most notably classically trained composer and songwriter Murai. In 1970, the lyricist went to her beloved Paris to record a now much-admired solo album ("Zuzu"), singing in a style reminiscent of Françoise Hardy and Jane Birkin (Shimazaki 2013: 123-125). While not a commercial success, her status as music business royalty would be assured just three years later when she won the Japan Grand Prix prize for best song of the year with "Kiken na Futari" (Dangerous Couple). The song, a co-write with Kase Kunhiko was given to Sawada Kenji, with whom she would have a brief romantic relationship, one of many with younger men, mostly artists, during the early and mid-1970s. The late 1970s saw Yasui enter a new phase in her life and career as the devoted wife of fellow style icon Kato Kazuhiko, the founder of the eclectic Folk Crusaders, a highly creative singer songwriter eight years her junior with whom she would forge a relationship that attracted widespread media attention (Shimazaki 2013: 370-375; Murai 2020).

While she perhaps never equaled her mentor and idol Kajiko's sophistication and refinement, Yasui also brought to the three younger Chianti women a combination of elegance, style, and up-to-date European chic that no other woman her age could match. Indeed by the late 1970s, together with her husband, she would be on the way to becoming one of the wealthiest self-made celebrities in Japan and a symbol of elegance, sophistication and Bubble-era consumerism, much covered by chic magazines (Shimazaki 2013, 366-70). This image was enhanced by her association with the photogenic Kaga Mariko, also the subject of regular media attention for her complex and liberated love life. Together with Koshino, these three modern Japanese female celebrities much like Pallenberg, Faithfull and Christie in the UK, had by the end of the decade achieved the status of role models for aspiring creative baby-boom women hoping to work in the arts or mass media. Photos of the three women together (or with Kamayatsu) taken at the time reveal a swagger and sense of sisterhood-infused self-confidence that seems decades ahead of its time and can reasonably be compared with anything seen in London, Paris, or New York at the time. Over the next few years, they would take trips to Europe including a now legendary road trip to St. Tropez together with designer Kenzo, later described by Koshino as akin to living like

the characters in Truffaut's *Jules and Jim* (Tokyo FM Radio 2014). These trips and their exposure to the counterculture and mainstream celebrities who frequented Chianti such as Mishima Yukio and Ozawa Seiji, would allow them to continue spreading a modish fashion and liberated lifestyle to the Swinging Tokyo scene that they had helped make, until the mid-to-late1970s.

Commerce vs Counterculture: The Limitations of Chianti-Inspired Cultural Innovation

In the years following the demise of Group Sounds, the Chianti restaurant would lose much of its former cultural role, largely due to the early death of Kawazoe Hiroshi in 1970 and Kajiko's subsequent decision to retire from her position as proprietress. Having refined and developed their skills and connections, many of the elite-background restaurant regulars would go on to take important music, fashion, and mass media positions in the rapidly growing and increasingly prosperous society that was 1970s Japan. By contrast, the key singers and musicians who helped create the excitement of 1966-68 would, with the exception of Sawada Kenji, struggle to match their western counterparts with only a handful of GS-graduate propelled rock groups such as Uchida's "Flower Travelin' Band," Kamayatsu's "Vodka Collins," Kato Kazuhiko's "Sadistic Mika Band" and Hosono Haruomi (another Chianti patron)'s "Happy End" achieving even a modest degree of success, mostly outside Japan. While Sawada would go onto become the country's leading male pop singer and play a major role in broadening the contours of masculine fashion in a manner comparable to David Bowie, his long-term impact on popular culture would not match that of his UK counterparts (Yukiton Blog 2018). Rather it would be the smoother electronic sounds of the elite-university-educated Yellow Magic Orchestra and the proficient but bland hybrid of American soft rock and singer-songwriter introspection epitomized by Murai protégé Yuming that would become the default music of middle-class Japan in the years to come.

By the late 1970s, the Swinging Tokyo of 1966-69 had given way to a mass culture built on a three-way split among the more educated British-rock-following university students who eschewed almost anything domestic; a much larger but still mostly upper-middle-class cohort following Matsutoya, YMO, Sada Masashi, Southern All Stars, and other types of competently played but distinctly non-rock "new music" (later labeled "J-Pop") and the next generation of mainstream casual consumers who would gravitate to the idol singers produced by Star Tanjō and other TV programs. While this division would be a feature of the UK scene too, in the next two decades London (as well as Manchester and Birmingham) would go on to produce numerous music-driven social movements and vibrant youth subcultures including punk, heavy metal, new wave and Brit Rock. None of these would have a significant Japanese equivalent despite the efforts of a handful of "alternative" bands such as the Blue Hearts and Boøwy.

Assessing the Role of the Chianti Five in Re-Shaping Post 1960s Popular and Counterculture Expression

The impact of the Chianti Five and the Tigers on Japanese pop culture and indeed on the country's social history is undeniably a profound one. Today, however, their story has been subsumed in a more generic mid-Showa era nostalgia for women who came of age in the late 1960s. This can be seen in the rapturous and tear-laden reception of female fans in their early sixties at the Tigers' momentous full-band reunion concert of December 27, 2013. Held at a full capacity Tokyo Dome, the concert represented a highly symbolic Sawada-Kahashi reconciliation after decades of estrangement. Yet despite the impact of the Tigers as a pop culture phenomenon,

suggested by this event, the overall Group Sounds-movement with its overtly commercial foundation, ultimately lacked some of the key components needed to build on itself and create a robust music-based culture. As such, it can be argued retrospectively, that the movement did not inject itself into the country's collective music-based cultural memory in a manner that genuinely matched the depth of that of Swinging London. This may be, as was suggested earlier, because Swinging Tokyo, for all of its excitement and power, lacked two components of the original. These were an art school culture in which middle class students could get together to form experimental pop or rock bands, and a strong working- and lower-middle class subculture with a strong affinity for and access to African American-based music. These missing pieces combined with the oversized influence of upper-middle class individuals, many of whom had commercial rather than creative ambitions, would lead to a downplaying of countercultural or class-based artistic expression. This in turn would also act to limit the artistic quality, originality and durability of the musical output of the Tigers and other Japanese GS groups, both domestically and internationally. It would not, however, prevent five still relatively unknown women, the "Chianti Five," from playing an important role into putting into place several of the components of what today is arguably the world center for a commercialized mass popular culture with broad appeal to both western and Asian youth. These talented and ambitious women, with their mutual longing for European sophistication, by adopting the aspirational lower-middle-class teen members of the Tigers as their combined muse and vehicle, succeeded in elevating Tokyo's status in global youth culture decades before the era of manga, animation, video games and Harajuku fashion. That one small restaurant and building was at the core of this achievement is a story that despite a recent documentary about the restaurant on NHK's BS channel, remains little known to most Japanese pop culture scholars today, but is clearly worthy of the close attention given here (Shirīzu Tōkyō 2014).

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